

that it was the "duty of Congress" to present. And then, after citing some beautiful poetry in which the law of opinion is represented as very potent in the world, the Senator from Massachusetts proceeds to say:

"But now, it may be asked, what is all that to do? The question is easily answered. We are one of the nations. Our system of government, in its character, is a system of self-defense, if we are safe from its effects, we may thank our situation or our courage. The age we live in, and our own active character, have connected us with all the nations of the world; and we, as a nation, have precisely the same interests in international law as a private individual has in the laws of his country. But, whatever we do in this matter, it behooves us to do on principle. If, on the subject of rumored combinations against Southern America we take any stand, it must be on principle that that stand is taken. The new approach or the remote distance of danger may change policy, but cannot touch principle; and the same reasons of an abstract kind that would lead us to protect the case of the whole southern continent bind us to protect in the case of the smallest republic of Italy."

And now, Mr. President, (continued Mr. ALLEN,) I have referred to these things, as I stated at the outset, to justify myself from the imputation cast upon me of arrogating to myself the business of the committee, by the presentation of this resolution. And now I will conclude by stating what I did intend to do on this subject. I should have done it at that time with perhaps more impudent ardor than now, had not the motion to lay on the table precluded debate, and, of course, precluded me from the opportunity of repelling the imputations to which I have alluded. I have now, sir, said all that I deem necessary on the subject.

Mr. CALHOUN said: Mr. President, I trust I have too much self respect, and too great a regard for the gravity of the subject-matter under discussion, to follow the example set by the Senator from Ohio, in giving this discussion a personal direction. I had not the slightest intention of wounding the feelings of the Senator in stating that I did not intend to do this in his remarks to which I replied, that he had introduced this resolution on his own responsibility; and yet he takes great offense in my simply stating in detail what he had expressed in general terms, by saying that he had not consulted the Senator from Michigan, (Mr. Cass,) and the Senator from Arkansas, (Mr. SEYMOUR,) or any other member of the committee. I never meant to say that. I only said, in fact, I never meant to say. What I say, I say openly and directly; and mean neither more nor less than what I do say. Having thus noticed the remarks of the Senator I have a personal bearing, I shall now proceed to notice the other portions of his remarks.

The Senator, in the first place, fairly failed in his elaborate researches to find a single precedent to justify the course he has taken on this occasion; not one of his precedents afford an example of a chairman of a committee, to which a specific subject-matter is committed, moving for leave to introduce a bill or resolution, on his own responsibility, on a subject-matter referred to the committee, but which he has found no example of the kind in his careful search, I hazard little in presuming that none such exist. On the occasion to which he referred, I intimated that I considered his resolution out of order; but it is not intimated, and now boldly asserts, that it was clearly a violation of a plain parliamentary rule, that, whenever a subject-matter is referred to a committee, it is for the time withdrawn from the Senate, and cannot be made a subject for action by the Senate while it is withdrawn. Not expecting this point to come up, I have not turned to the rule referred to; but it can be easily found, I presume, in the Manual, if any one chooses to refer to it.

The Senator from Ohio, without directly denying the rule, has undertaken to point out several examples, which he alleges, by the rule. The first of these was the resolution of the Senator from Indiana, (Mr. HANBROW,) introduced at the present session, in reference to Oregon, and the amendments which I offered to his resolution. The Senate will remember that the object of the resolution was to deny the right of this Government to the territory of Oregon, which lies between the United States and Great Britain in reference to Oregon. Now, the President, in his message, said not one word on the subject of the right of the United States to settle the boundary; and, of course, in referring the part of his message to the Committee on Foreign Relations to settle the boundary in reference to Oregon, he was not making any reference to the subject referred to that committee; and, of course, fails to sustain the grounds assumed by the Senator. It also follows, of course, that if the original resolution itself does not furnish a precedent in support of the Senator, neither does my amendment furnish one.

The next precedent he alludes to is the case of the brig Enterprise, in reference to which I moved three resolutions. Most of the Senators present will remember that that was a case where an American vessel had been stranded at the Bahamas Islands, and in reference to which the local authorities had acted in a manner wholly inconsistent with the laws of nations. Why the Senator should refer to this resolution, I do not know, as a precedent to justify his course, I am wholly at a loss to understand. The President had made no allusion to the case in his annual message, nor had the subject been referred to any committee. It was a clear case of a movement upon a subject not before the Senate in any shape, nor referred to in any of its committees.

But the Senator asserts, by way of justifying his resolution, that my resolutions were of a more general character, comprehending all times and places, and of universal application. He overlooks the fact which distinguishes them from his: that, as general as they were, they affirmed simply the general law of nations, which was well known to all, and which, as a law so well known, he admitted as to be the basis of his resolution. The President had made no allusion to the case in his annual message, nor had the subject been referred to any committee. It was a clear case of a movement upon a subject not before the Senate in any shape, nor referred to in any of its committees.

His next precedent is the case of a resolution moved by Mr. Mallory, when a member of the House of Representatives. That was a case of a call for information on the subject of the Department in reference to the grounds on which the declaration of Mr. Monroe, referred to by the Senator from Michigan, (Mr. Cass,) was made. The Senator did not undertake to show in what manner that could constitute a precedent to justify his course. Admitting that part of the message alluded to had been referred to the appropriate committee, it is obvious that a call for information in reference to it, is wholly distinct from introducing a resolution on the subject-matter referred to, and cannot justify the course pursued by the Senator on this occasion.

As to the last precedent cited by the Senator, he has not stated in sufficient detail the facts of the case to authorize me to state whether it was introduced in the Senate, or in the House, or not. Nor do I recollect whether the message of the President referred to the insurrection of the Greeks against the power of the Sultan; or, if it did, whether that portion of the message had been referred to the appropriate committee when the Senator from Massachusetts, then a member of the House of Representatives, introduced his resolution. If it had, the precedent would not be over the case. But, even suppose it should prove to be a precedent in point, (which I by no means believe,) it should be considered but an accidental and solitary departure from a well-established parliamentary rule.

Having dispatched the Senator's precedents, and shown that they do not justify his course, I now proceed to state my objections to his resolution. The Senator undertakes to vindicate this resolution by the declarations made by Mr. Monroe in his annual message at the commencement of the session of 1823-4. The cases are not analogous. However general the terms in which the declaration of Mr. Monroe was couched, it is a call for information in reference to the affairs of this continent, they had at the time a practical bearing in reference to an anticipated interference. I do not remember whether the diplomatic correspondence of that period has ever been published. A friend informed me last evening it had been. But, be that as it may, I presume, after so great a lapse of time, it would be useless to consult the correspondence to state the circumstances which led to that declaration.

We all remember the holy alliance established between the five principal continental Powers after the overthrow of Bonaparte. England declined to become a member, although she acted for the most part in concert with it. This powerful combination of sovereigns, entered for the purpose of maintaining monarchical power, and for restoring the establishment of democratic institutions, contemplated at the time an interference with the affairs of South America, in order to restore the dominion of Spain over her revolted provinces. Our Executive received an intimation—Mr. Gannett was then at the head of the British Ministry, a man of great sagacity and integrity, to the effect that the British Government intended that, if our Government would support the British, it would discontinue and take a stand against such an interference. The declaration of the message was the response before the world to this intimation, instead of being a mere general declaration, without any practical bearing, and signifying nothing.

With the declaration referred to there was another and a broader one against European nations colonizing on this continent, particularly referred to by the Senator from Michigan in his remarks, and on which he specially relies to vindicate his resolution. As to it, the then Secretary of State, (Mr. Adams,) and now a member of the other House, claims to understand the paternity. My impression is, that it is fairly entitled to it. I have no recollection that it formed any part of the Cabinet deliberation, when the response made to Mr. Gannett's intimation was under deliberation. I will not speak with confidence, as the events are long past, but my impression is that it never was a subject of deliberation in the Cabinet at any time.

When the distinguished individual referred to came to be elevated from the State Department to the Presidency, he did not forget his paternal relation to it. It was one of the leading measures recommended in his first annual message to Congress, to be carried out through the Panama convention, which was so much distinguished in the political history of the day. And surely, if the principle upon which this resolution rests be correct—if all attempts at colonization or interference on the part of European Powers are to be resisted, it would be far more rational to do it by concert, like that of the Panama convention, than to undertake it single-handed, as proposed by this resolution.

the most animated discussions ever witnessed in this Chamber. It continued for many weeks, and, before it terminated, the Administration fell prostrate, never to rise again.

The Senator from Michigan has thought proper to attribute the opposition to this resolution to defiance to Great Britain and other European Powers. He makes a wide mistake. It is a defiance to that good sense which would teach us not to make declarations which we cannot perform, or to rely upon them to defend us against the encroachments or injustice of others.

Notwithstanding all that has been said by the Senator from Michigan, I am not capable of perceiving a single advantage likely to result from the adoption of this resolution. I would ask him what practical benefit can we possibly expect to derive from it under present circumstances? Will it facilitate the adjustment of the difference between us and Great Britain, or tend in any way to prevent a collision with that Power, which he and all profess a desire to avoid if it can honorably be averted? Or, if collision must ensue, will it tend to attract the sympathy and co-operation of other European Powers in our support? Or would it prevent the five great Powers, who he says have the regulation of the balance of power, and for whom he seems to have so much dread, from attempting to carry the policy of regulating the balance of power to this continent? Will it, as he says, will make words have any potent effect? No. If we intend to oppose their interference, we must do so in a far different course; we must act, and not talk; we must build navies, arm and equip them; raise powerful armies, and a great revenue from internal and external taxes, and put forth the whole of our strength to make any effectual resistance. Or, if we are of good will, not the adoption of this resolution, but the following by the Senate, will be the only way to throw embarrassment in the way of an adjustment of our conflicting interests with England, and increase the hazard of war instead of the prospect of peace? Will it not alienate and excite the jealousy of all the European nations against us, instead of eliciting their sympathies and support? Will it not combine the five great Powers more strongly together, and unite them in carrying out the balance of power in reference to this continent which the Senator so much dreads? Viewed in every light, instead of good, nothing but unqualified evil can flow from it. Under this impression, I resisted it when the resolution was first introduced, and under the same spirit I resist it now.

Mr. ALLEN rose and said, that, as to the precedents—so many of which were on record, but of which he had been content to quote half a dozen—they still stood there unrepelled. The assertion of the Senator from South Carolina that they did not apply in the present case, was the most extraordinary way of answering this. He did not think it requisite to go over all the precedents; but he thought it would be well to notice that was laid down by him, and that was in regard to the confinement of the powers of the Senate until committees should report on matters referred to them. Now, what would be the state of the question by the application of such a principle to the Constitution required the President to communicate to Congress the opening of the session, and his views of our affairs, internal and external. If the President's message comprehends all those subjects, as it ought to do, its different portions are referred (as a matter of course) to its several committees. What then? Why, as a matter of course, the Senate must sit dumb until it may please the several committees to report. The Senator from South Carolina, who is so much of a subject, and every one of its members is gagged—all are muzzled by the reference of the President's message, which happens to allude incidentally to the matter. The President's message recommended appropriations for the army and for the navy, and that portion of it is referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and on Naval Affairs; therefore, according to the Senator from South Carolina, no Senator can originate a bill, or make a motion on the subject, because that reference extracts out of the Senate that principle of vitality giving it control over the legislative field; it paralyzes the Senate, and, according to his doctrine, no member of that body could originate a motion. Now, when he has said this, he has said nothing. Well, the question is referred, and, being referred, not a member of that body was to make a solitary motion, because the matter is sent to a committee. Now, suppose a mischievous man should happen to get into power, and take up every subject-matter in his imagination could suggest as possible for Congress to touch; that his course would be to refer every subject, why, then, according to him, not a man could offer a resolution because the President's message had taken the matter up already. There was something so monstrous in that doctrine that it was quite unnecessary to say any other word.

Mr. CALHOUN here rose under the impression that Mr. Allen had finished, but immediately gave way. The Senator from South Carolina, in speaking of the declaration of Mr. Monroe in his message, had said that it was a specific case, and that there was no specific case contained in the message of Mr. Polk. To that he (Mr. A.) would answer, that the President did not only name a specific case in his message, but he named the subject-matter, and he came home to us as the case of the South American Republics. He alluded to the mention made of the interference of the British and French Governments to prevent the annexation of Texas to the United States. That was a case of interference—of palpable, political interference, and the Powers had endeavored to compel us to listen to us and Texas, and had offered a high boon to bribe that gallant people; and the people of the United States were now under obligation, not to the prompt energy of their own Government alone, but to the incorruptible honesty and stern patriotism of the people of Texas, who had large hopes of being soon recognized, nationally, but substantially, a British Province. Why, did not every one who great Britain and France would wish to see Texas become a dependent province? On the part of these Powers there was no offer made to the Governments of Mexico and Texas to compromise their difficulties, nor that Texas should have herself to Mexico, but that she should be a British Province. If she should stay out of this Union, they would recognize and sustain her independence. Why? Because she would then be a feeble Power upon our frontier, which would have to look abroad for protection, and necessarily put herself under the protection of France and England. It was on that ground he (Mr. A.) had said that a protest ought to have been laid before the Cabinet of France and England against such an interference; and, if they had persisted, that war ought to have been declared. Those matters were alluded to in the President's message. The object of that interference of France and England was to keep a member out of the Union. They would have had as much right to induce a member to go out of the Union, as they had to keep one coming in. And Great Britain and France would have as great a right to hold out an inducement to one of our discontented States to leave the Union as prevent Texas from coming in. Well, there was the subject alluded to in the President's message in so many words. Mexico and Texas were called by their names, and still the gentleman who was making the allusion to a specific case? He (Mr. A.) had stated the case of Texas.

And now he asked to be allowed—since the discussion had spread out further than he wished it to—say, in reference to the condition of Mexico, that if the British or French Government were to demand the return of Texas to the condition in which it was at the time of the declaration of Mr. Monroe, to distant the present order of things there, with a view to bringing about a state of things which would afford them an excuse for placing a French prince upon the throne of Mexico, or of reducing that country to the condition of a colony subject to either of those Powers—if such should be the result, it would justify a declaration of war against the Powers by the United States. He then proceeded to state that the United States—occurrences no less important than the interference of two Powers of the Holy Alliance with this Government within a couple of years past. When he said that those Powers were so on paper, or that Lord Castlereagh signed the articles agreed to by the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia in 1814, Great Britain did not sign it, neither did her Minister; but the fact is, the only reason, as stated by the Minister, why it was not done was that, while the other sovereigns signed it in person, that thing called the British Convention required the signature of a responsible Minister, without that, substantially for giving effect to the project put forward by the Holy Alliance, France was as much a member then and now as the other sovereigns; and France had adhered, after the restoration of the Bourbons, to the principles of the Holy Alliance. He (Mr. A.) was not, then, mistaken in saying that two members of the Holy Alliance had, within the last two or three years, even to the present time, interfered to change our political organization, and interfered to prevent the admission of a State into the Union; and that upon that ground it was necessary to check it. Now, if the gentleman (Mr. C.) wanted a case, let him look at home. He was not going to take him (Mr. A.) to Patagonia for an example. He knew the strength of his position, and he knew that it was his duty to defend it. He knew that the British Convention required the signature of a responsible Minister, without that, substantially for giving effect to the project put forward by the Holy Alliance, France was as much a member then and now as the other sovereigns; and France had adhered, after the restoration of the Bourbons, to the principles of the Holy Alliance. 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